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Grosse Pointe Brokers Association, stated that the system kept up property values and was approved by at least 95% of Grosse Pointers. He insisted that the system was flexible. He thought Albert Einstein or Ralph Bunche *might* be allowed to purchase a home. One of those who fought the system in the 1960s was Dr. James Kaloger who had shortened his Greek name and was allowed to buy even though he was swarthy and dark-haired. He worked as a history teacher and student council advisor at Grosse Pointe High School South. A student activist of the period who shared many of his views was Irene Kotzias, vice-president of the Student Council of Grosse Pointe High School South in 1969.

Notes

[1] This material has been slightly rephrased by Dan Georgakas from passages in Kathy Cossboom, *Grosse Pointe, Michigan: Race Against Race* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1972). See pages 5-8, 80-84.

Journal of Modern Hellenism 21-22 2004-2005

Christodoulos M.L. [Evangeles] Evangelides (1815-1881): An Early Greek American Educator and Lobbyist[1]

Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou

Historians of Greek-American relations usually include Christodoulos M. L. Evangeles among the group of Greek refugees who were brought to America in connection with the Greek War of Independence. He is often called a war orphan, an attribution which is incorrect according to the family information he provides us in his remarkable diaries. These diaries and related documents are the earliest surviving reminiscences by a Greek American immigrant about life in his new country.[2] My purpose is to draw upon them and other documents to illustrate some of the problems, accomplishments, and perspectives of this Greek-American immigrant pioneer.[3] If I had to characterize Evangeles in one sentence, it would be that he was deeply religious and proud of his Greek heritage; the term "super-patriot" comes to mind. On the very first page he identifies himself as "Christopher Lysimmachus Mathews Evangelis, Greek, the son of a Greek."[4]

There are several variations known of his first, middle and last names. These variations are a story by themselves as their transformations chart not only his desire to identify himself with famous ancient Greeks such as Lysimmachus, Leonidas and Miltiades, but are symbolic of the problems that all Greek immigrants have in negotiating American society. In his diary he states that his friends called him Christy. This is probably how he was known on a day-to-day basis.[5]

If he is mentioned at all in the literature on nineteenth-century American history, it is because two famous people took an interest in him. The American poet, William Cullen Bryant, wrote a poem about him in 1828 called "Greek Boy," and a renowned American painter, Robert W. Weir, painted his portrait.[6] He attracted their attention not only because he had rich and influential friends, but because he stood out for his Hellenism and wished everyone he came into contact with to realize that the ancient Greeks they so admired lived on in the modern Greeks, of whom he was a sterling representative. We also know that from time to time he would visit his prominent friends in his Greek costume, meaning his *foustanella*! One can imagine the impact this must have had upon his contemporaries. Most New Yorkers had never met a Greek, although many had read about the ancient ones and the modern revolutionaries. His diaries show that he was fully conscious of this role.[7] Other examples will show that he was an immigrant who did not try to assimilate. He wore his ethnic identity like a badge of honor.[8]

The Greek Revolution captured the imagination of American society because it related closely to what was taught in American schools about the history of democratic ideals and values. Like Boston, New York City was at the forefront of American Philhellenism. Many private and public organizations were formed to aid the Greek cause. By 1823 American Protestant missions had been established in Malta, Argos, Nauplion, Spetsae, Hydra, Smyrna, and on the island of Syros, the principal center for Chiot refugees.[9] It was at the American refugee center established at Syros that Evangeles appears to have first come into contact with these American missionaries, although many years later William Cullen Bryant recalled that he had been rescued from the Turks in Smyrna.[10]

Evangeles writes that his parents were from the Agrapha region of Thessaly, but that he was born in Thessaloniki

where his mother had gone to live. His father, Evangeles Agraphiotes, died when he was four years old, leaving his wife with three young orphans to raise. By the time the Greek revolution took place, she had remarried and was living in Thessaloniki with her children, where her father was a priest. Given Evangeles' highly developed sense of patriotism, one is not surprised that he relates with pride that his family played a role in the revolution. He refers to his father and other family members as *klefts* of some standing, which even Ali Pasha had to take into account. He also indicates that the family must have been displaced from Thessaloniki during the reign of terror that the Turks waged against the Greek population.[11]

In any case, although we do not know the precise circumstances of his becoming a refugee, we do know that his sister and mother survived the revolution. It would appear that his decision to emigrate to America was made in order to seek a better life and obtain an American education, rather than because he had no immediate family left in Greece. Although some of the evidence indicates that he was brought to America by Peter Vandervoort, a dedication in a book he published in 1842 reads: "To my deliverer and benefactor Russell E. Glover, Esq."[12] These appear to be some of his patrons in America, as no evidence has been found that indicates that either Vandervoort or Glover ever visited Greece.

Evangeles arrived in New York for the first time, on March 21, 1828, when he was twelve years old. We also know that he was a student at the Mount Pleasant Classical Institution in Amherst, Massachusetts between 1830-32 where he studied with the famous immigrant scholar, E.A. Sophocles.[13] He returned to New York on October 28, 1832, and enrolled as a student at the University of the City of New York, the original name of what is now New York University.[14] Although Vandervoort and others still appear to have been

his patrons at this time, his higher education was supported by a group rather than one person. Apparently a church group was formed with the express purpose of supporting Evangeles during his studies. The group was appropriately named the Evangeles Society and was connected with the South Dutch Church. Its minister, Dr. James M. Mathews, was also the University's first chancellor. It is also possible that Evangeles had been converted to Protestantism by this time, a process that may have started in Greece and played a key role in the selection of refugee students.[15]

It is with the start of Evangeles' higher education that the diaries in the collection of the New York Historical Society begin. They consist of four notebooks and the first entry is dated January 3, 1834, over a year after his initial enrollment at the University. Although he does not tell us so, I suspect that he was given the notebooks in order to practice writing and to improve his written English. This is indicated by the fact that he rarely writes in Greek in them, and that his spelling and grammar show that he would have been more comfortable writing in his native language. He occasionally uses Greek words only when he wishes to refer to Greek place names or topics or if he wishes to be critical of someone. For example, he inserts into his entry for January 6, 1834: "that I was very much anoid *upo enos gynekos en oiko mou* [by a woman in my house].[16] There are also indications that Evangeles thought that his diary might have historical value someday, and that his children, particularly his future sons, might be interested in reading it.[17]

The diaries as a whole are sometimes tedious and relate routine aspects of his student life, however, I believe that even many of these routine items are of interest since they give us insights into his personality and foreign student life in the early nineteenth century. His first entry records with pride that he had been asked to deliver an address on the occasion of the anniversary of what appears to be a citywide

college student organization, called the Philomathian Society. He was the President of this society and he reproduces his entire address in the diary. The material is of interest because it indicates that from the very beginning of his education he viewed it as his mission to return to Greece and share his education with his countrymen. He was very proud of his Greek heritage and was happy to be in an environment that shared in his pride and valued it. He also believed that this heritage and that of America had shared values that he could bring back to Greece that would benefit both nations.[18] Nevertheless, sometimes he was homesick, and so on May 31, 1835 he wrote: "another month is gone – one month less in banishment."[19]

His nostalgia for home was highlighted in an entry he made in 1836 during a trip to Boston when he visited the crew of a Greek ship that happened to be in port. He recorded that: "the Greek Boy – Borrowed a Greek dress from one of them, promised to return them – in a month or so – I put them on – graceful – PM – wrote a letter to my dear mother – to the Post Office – No. 56 – Commercial St. with Constantine to the Greek ship got going with the Greeks – .....took wine... – oysters...and water – ..... – good oh the Greek captain – This evening was the happiest I ever spent."[20]

Evangeles' financial circumstances were always difficult. From his diary we learn of many instances where he was made fun of because of his shabby clothing and his frustration at not being able to afford the books and supplies that other students had. We also learn that he worked part-time as a librarian and, despite his poverty, still collected donations which he mailed back to Greece for the support of needy individuals. It was these difficult financial conditions that caused him to leave the University and transfer to Columbia College in April 1835. He did so because he was guaranteed better financial support by Samuel Ward, a prominent New York banker who became his new patron.[21] The Ward family

was closely associated with American Philhellenism, and Julia Ward, whom Evangeles knew quite well, became the wife of the famous humanitarian Samuel Gridley Howe.[22] The change not only resulted in his leaving the South Dutch Church and severing his ties with the Evangeles Society, but he eventually had to move from lower Manhattan to Brooklyn where he lived for the remainder of his education.[23]

Evangeles also soon learned that not all Americans were Philhellenes, and that the image of the modern Greeks was not always positive. He viewed it as his sacred duty to defend his country and people. We find him doing so on several occasions. In one particular instance he took issue with several scholarly publications of his day that criticized the modern Greeks, branding them pirates and unworthy to be associated with the ancients. His response was an oration against "the mishellenists" that he delivered on June 25, 1835, before the college president and the entire student body. We are fortunate that he reproduces the entire text in his diary; and I will quote only a small portion to give you an idea of what it was like. He begins with, "Of the many stigmas adduced against the character of the Greeks, in order to substantiate the argument that they have degenerated from the noble spirit of their forefathers, I beg leafe [sic] – and of you my fellow students to notice some of them now..."

He concludes with: "...no man who believes in the existance [sic] of the Almighty, merciful and just God would ever dared exclaim that the Greeks are a Piratical nation. The Greek never became a pirate for plunder – neither would he shed the blood of man. If the Greek became a pirate, it was to satisfy his famished family. If the Greek became a pirate, it was necessity stronger than death that made him one. If the Greek became a pirate – it was because he would not be a slave. Were I myself in the same situation, I would gladly turne [sic] a pirate, so would you and everybody else."[24]

He records that his oration was received with great clapping and shouting, that so moved him that he began to cry. Two points should be made with regard to this oration. The first is that he held himself up as an example of the Greek people; and the second point is that he did not deny that some Greeks may have engaged in piracy, but he excused them on the basis of circumstances and their lack of freedom.

Evangeles graduated from Columbia College on October 4, 1836 and he informs us that he gave a commencement speech whose subject was the Greek Revolution. Unfortunately, he does not reproduce the text of this oration in his diary. However, he tells us that among his invited guests were the captain and members of the crew of a Greek ship that happened to be in port. He spent the week before graduation with these Greek sailors, an indication that they were more than casual acquaintances. The Greek sea captain also played a prominent part in the commencement proceedings, since he stood on the stage with other invited dignitaries and attended the formal reception.[25] The New York Historical Society diaries end with an entry dated January 1, 1840 which records that Evangeles had returned to Greece in 1836 in order to establish an American style high school in Hermoupolis, Syros.

We know that Evangeles did well in his native land, and that his school flourished and was well attended. By the 1850s approximately 400 Greeks attended his school and he regularly hired American teachers to support him in his mission to bring American education and values to Greece.[26] He also acted as an American diplomatic representative in the Aegean under Jonas King in Athens. There is also some evidence that he was involved in Mediterranean commerce and real estate speculation, activities which earned him the nickname "Greek Yankee."[27] In 1842 we find him married to a young lady from Chios, and later on he had a son named Alexander whom he eventually sent to America to follow in his father's footsteps.[28]

Throughout his years in Greece he was visited by friends from America with whom he maintained a lively correspondence.[29] One assumes that it was because of his education, experience and American contacts, that he was asked to return to the United States to obtain aid and sympathy for the Greek cause during the Crimean War.[30] As far as I can determine, he was not considered an official representative of the Greek government but undertook the task as a private American citizen who could lobby on behalf of Greece and raise relief funds utilizing official channels.[31] He arrived in New York on June 2, 1854. It is unfortunate that he did not keep a diary of his activities in the United States during this period; however, one can piece together some of what took place from subsequent references to this period in his diary in Greece and from contemporary letters and articles that appeared in the American press.[32]

Greece found itself isolated and in difficult circumstances during the Crimean War. France and England, its traditional allies, were supporting Turkey, and Greece was accused of being under Russian influence. Revolts against Ottoman rule had broken out in Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, and Greek forces had crossed the border into European Turkey.[33]

Before Evangeles' arrival, the American press was under the influence of reports based on the observations of British journalists who, as one might expect, were unsympathetic to the Greek cause.[34] In fact, a few months before Evangeles' arrival, the New York Daily Tribune published a long article on the Greek insurrection which claimed that it had already been suppressed, and that the fault lay with Russian intrigue supported by the Greek Church, which exploited the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire. J.P. Fallmerayer is quoted in this article concerning the civil influence of the church.[35]

The Evangeles mission was considered a dangerous threat to the image of the Greek insurrection that had been

carefully portrayed in America up to that point. A British dispatch dated May 19, 1854, which appeared in the New York Evening Post, reported that the American consular agent at Syros was on his way to the United States to lobby for diplomatic support and to procure material aid on behalf of Greek refugees.[36] The concern was that Evangeles might be able to bring about a change in American foreign policy. There was a strong movement in Washington that favored Russia as a means of checking British power and expansion into North America. It was to this audience and to the general sympathy for Christians battling a Muslim overlord that the British feared that Evangeles might appeal.[37]

He did not waste any time in taking action to win over the American public to the Greek point of view. Already on June 8, the first of many articles written by Evangeles began to appear in the American press. On that date the New York Herald carried a long article entitled: "Greece and America: An Appeal to the People of the United States. Startling Developments of the Condition of the Greeks. Duplicity of the English and French." Evangeles knew his audience, he often began his articles with the phrase "Free Citizens of the United States." He avoided the complexities of European politics and presented the struggle as a continuation of that of 1821, a battle between good and evil, a struggle for freedom like that of the American revolution. He also contrasted the progress made by free Greece to the miserable conditions that prevailed for the Greek people still under Muslim rule.[38]

Evangeles also drew upon his personal experiences during the Greek revolution to strengthen his appeals. For example, in one such instance, he writes: "Yea dear Americans, I saw with my own eyes, the ears of thousands of Greeks cut off and brought in baskets into the city of Thessalonica, into the house of the Pasha; and with my own eyes, I saw loads of men's heads brought and exposed in piles before the Pasha and his people. Americans! happy people! sons

of Washington and Franklin – thirteen millions of immortal souls have sent me here to call upon you for sympathy and help. You have assisted our brethren, the Greeks that are now free – assist us now. Yes Americans it was your noble sons that snatched me from worse than death, and brought me to New York, and educated me, taught me truth and liberty..." He goes on to name some of the most influential persons in the city as his benefactors and supporters.

The letters that survive from this period indicate that he also contacted all the influential people he knew to help him raise funds and win sympathy for the Greek cause.[39] Evangeles also appealed directly to the people by giving public lectures and distributing handbills about the Greek cause. That he had some effect is shown by the fact that his enemies launched a personal attack against him utilizing his greatest weakness: he was charged with being un-American. His critics accused him of illegally selling American passports in Syros and of being an agent of the Greek government who did not hold American citizenship and did not care about the interests of the United States.[40] The plan was to discredit his credibility with the American public and thus discredit the cause he represented.

Evangeles responded publicly to the changes made against him by having a detailed letter published in the New York Evening Post. He was in Washington D.C. at the time and defended his honor and good name with enthusiasm and wit.[41] To the charge that he was an agent of the Greek government, he pled guilty, but considered it an honor to be of some service to their Christian King and Queen. On the question of his citizenship and loyalty, he said that he was an American citizen and reminded the reader that he had lived in the United States for ten years, been educated here, voted in elections, and served in the militia. If this is not enough to be considered an American, he states that he will do whatever else is needed to assure his status.

I have not yet been able to determine if Evangeles' lobbying on behalf of the Greek cause in the 1850s had any effect upon American foreign policy decision-making. We know that America had vital domestic issues at that time that absorbed most of its attention.[42]

Evangeles was also awarded an honorary Masters degree from Columbia University during this period. He returned to Greece in October 1855, to his duties as principal of his school at Syros.[43] Harvard University owns another Evangeles diary mostly in Greek in which he recorded aspects of his life in Syros between 1856 and 1860.

APPENDIX

(No changes have been made from the original text.)

Entry for December 24, 1834, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. I. The oration was delivered on November 24, 1834 on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Philomathian Society. Oration of Evangeles entitled "Greece"

American Ladies and Gentlemen – I address you with the epithete American, because to my ear there is nothing sweeter or more honourable then the epithete derived from one's own country – Americans, I am one of those who believe that every true Christian and true patriote, honest – generous – good and [..as] – enlightened man next to his God loves his Country best – Having thus frankly avowed before an assembly like this, what has been and shall be the maxim of my life – I venture with my sail of Hope and helm of Truth to launch into the deep and meet the enemy whose leader is Momus and Hermes his partner the patron of falsehood – While I am defending my beloved country against those who willfully neglect to excercise those tender feelings which an Almighty and [....] creator has planted in their breasts. I will treat them as they deserve – and they may feel that it – was

Greece and living Greece that they had injured – Americans – a name dear to every Greecian ear, a people with whom I feelt myself proud to abide for a while – and much more do I think myself happy this evening to stand and address to them a defence of the character of my people whom I know they love and whose character has seldom or never been presented to their eye in its native purity, I have but one request to make of you – Lend me your hearing and while you exercise your own judgement – give your heart to injured Greece if injured Greece deserves it – But if she does not deserve it – then pile new laurals on the exulting Mishellenists this honorable phalanx is composed of traders – naval officers – Merchant captains and Supercargos, disappointed enthusiasts and travellers who wish to show themselves exempt from the weekness of classical enthusiasm – and first in order –

The greedy trader was taught by sad experience that to cheat a Greek was as hard as to beat him.

The naval officer saw that the knees of the Greeks were too stiff to bend at the approach of his glittering bottoms. The Greeks being able to do the carrying cheaper drove from the Levant all foreigners forever in 1795. 25 years only after the question of the entire extermination of the Greeks was warmly discussed and came well nigh being put in execution there were no less than 400Greek vessels in the Black sea only. Certainly this was far from pleasing the Merchant captains and supercargoes and the Greeks as the authors of this were made the objects of their contempt.

As for the disappointed enthusiasts they were indeed most cruely disappointed. they might have known that the Greeks are not a people to yeild passively to every stranger who dares to contaminate the sacred soil of our much beloved country. Their expectations were extravigant and unreasonable in imagining that since they had left their homes – and had come to assist us in acheiving the independence of our Country at their arrival in Greece we should receive them with open

arms and place them at the head of the government [...] deviled their sails and soon they were on the isles of the brave the good the great and the free. But alas the scene was changed and they were compeled to exclaim, But oh! if thou art Greece how are our hopes fallen! And why? Was it that the writing of Homer which inspired them with the desire to come and help us, were fallen?....."

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Entry for June 25th, 1835, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. II.
Speech given at Columbia College, June 25, 1835.

Of the many stigmas aduced against the character of the Greeks in order to substantiate the argument that they have degenerated from the noble spirit of their forefathers I beg leafe – and of you my fellow students to notice some of them now. The attempt to exculpate the Greeks from these through and through, I would consider it as insolence to the throne of Sacred Truth. Yet by bringing them once more before you and exhibiting them in the light in which they should have been you will be so far from condemning the Greeks that on the contrary you will regard these their accusers as knaves, disobedient to justice – and in whose breasts sympathy never found shelter. As in all other trials in search of truth the Ring leaders are raised to the most conspicuous stations by dint of merit. So will I in this present occasion, like a good citizen submit to the existing custom and forthwith will introduce before you those three who most distinguished themselves in leading the honourable phalanx of the mishellenists into the field of [Polemoio.....]. You see that their number is a complete trio and having three given points we can at pleasure point out the center of the circle.

The first of these who lead the van is the mighty Sir William Gell – who having visited Greece and Turkey in

1805 published his travels in 1823 as "The present state of Greece." In addition to the unbecoming base and vilianous epithates with which he adorns the Greeks. He predicts some bitter callamities against us but now being too late by 12 years for the fulfillment of the same. We begin to entertain some doubts but that he might have been inspired from the wrong quarters.

W. H. Humphreys comes next – of manly form, but childish brains – and as one of these scrims, bites, knocks and kicks when the puss makes way with its ginger cake – so he mourned and cursed the Greeks and more our noble prince Ypsilantis with words like these – I left my home with all its comforts and come to assist these wretches – and they have not appointed me to office – not withstanding my frequent applications. I am weary, I am tired – I will not longer stay – I shall returne as soon as the campaign is over. But he said it in such a ridiculous tone that the Greek maidens brooke their zones laughing.

Next comes the third – whose name unknown to most and so forever let be – for he was the bitterest sting to my Beloved Greece. He wrote a full octavo bearing facts such as on person out of the Lunatic asylum ever met with besides himself. Yes, in spite of your teeth he will insist that you have none. He will tell you that the Turkish women are better off shut up in the Harems than the Americans – and that there are more hogs in the streets of New York than there are dogs in Constantinople. But away with this Epicurean fellow and his pretty looking octavo. Not a drum nor a funeral note shall disturb it for we shall ascribe it to Dekay (decay) with all its profit and glory.

The boastful watchword of these Harpies has been "O! the degenerate Greeks – O! the Piratical Greeks." That the Greeks have degenerated from the Spirit of their fathers they have only aserted but never proved – and what was the spirit of our fathers? Was it not that which breathed upon the foe at

Marathon Plataea – Thermoplyale and Salamis? And in these last days in the bloody cruel war – while famine, discord and death ravaged within, without friends or aid from abroad, and without the necessary engines of war – carried on by their sons – against one of the most powerful and vindictive nations in the world. Does spirit like this indicate degeneracy of the Greeks. But away with such men. Sympathy never found a drope of cold water in their breasts.

Lastly – no man who believes in the existence of an Almighty, merciful and just God would have ever dared exclaim that the Greeks are a Piratical nation. The Greek never became a pirate for plunder – neither would he shed the blood of man. If the Greek became a pirate, it was necessity stronger than death that made him one. If the Greek became a pirate – it was because he would not be a slave.

Were I myself in the same situation I would gladly turne a pirate, so would you and everybody else save these our accusers – for piracy too is too noble did for them. They would sooner be pick pockets, thieves, slanderers, vilians and cut throats. But away with men like these, for evil communication corrupts good manners. Del. June 25, 1835, Columbia College.

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New York Herald June 8, 1854, page 8, column 1:

GREECE AND AMERICA.
An Appeal to the People of the United States.

Startling Developments of the Condition of the Greeks.

DUPLICITY OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH, &c., &., &.,
FREE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:

There is no other people to whom the Macedonians, the Thessalians, the Epirotes, the Thracians, the Cretans, the Sciotes, the Rhodians, the Cyprians, the inhabitants of the coast of Asia Minor, of Syria, and of the other provinces under the yoke of the Mohamedans, to whom they can look up to for aid, than you. For four-hundred years this people have been groaning under the oppresive yoke of the Turk. They have been suffering what no other people have suffered. Eight generations have been swept away since their first oppressors, the Turks, invaded their country, destroyed their temples, or turned them into mosques, cut off the tongues of a great many of their children, that they may forget the Greek language and Christian religion, depriving them of all the rights of citizens and of human beings, made razzias on the people of the country, and turned into a wilderness what once was so fair and so rich.

Citizens of the United States – Peaceful habitations and flourishing villages have been swept away from the face of the earth by the Turks; wealthy and great cities have been reduced to ruins and insignificance. The Turks, ever since they conquered these countries, have been destroying what they have found; and they have built nothing – everything has been withering before them. Schools, education, the arts and sciences, commerce and political rights, have faded before them. Our country a desolate, and where the voice of prayer and thanksgiving were once heard, we now hear but the cry of the owl and jackall. These are facts known to all of us. Visit Naousa, Beroea, and Cassandra, in Macedonia, and you will see the stones and the ruins stained, and if you inquire of the people how they became so stained, you will be answered that they were staind by the blood of the myriads of children, women, and old men that were butchered by Abouloubut, Pasha of the city of Thessalonica. Yes, dear Americans, I saw with my own eyes the ears of thousands of Greeks cut off, and brought in baskets in the city of Thessalonica, into the house

of the Pasha; and with my own eyes I saw loads of men's heads brought and exposed in piles before the Pasha and his people. Visit Ipsara and Scio, and you will see the ruins dyed with blood, and you will see the marble floor of the churches, to the present day, marked by the bloody impressions of the bodies of the slain that died on that spot. Americans! happy people! sons of Washington and Franklin – -thirteen millions of immortal souls sent me here to call upon you for sympathy and help. They want your assistance – they need your help. It is enough they cry – four hundred years of slavery is enough to suffer, and we cannot suffer longer. They call upon you, Americans, to turn your sympathizing eyes upon them. You have assisted our brethren, the Greeks, that are now free – assist us now. It was we that fought the battles of the revolution of 1821. Our fathers bled – our old men were massacred – our mothers, and sisters, and brothers, have been led into captivity. Americans, the person who addresses you now, in the name of thirteen million Christian Greeks, is the only one of a large family of Macedonia that is alive, having been saved from the Turks by American citizens. Yes, Americans! It was the noble sons of America that snatched me from worse than death, and brought me to New York, and educated me, and taught me truth and liberty. It was P. H. Vandervoort, R. E. Glover, J. Whiting, and Daniel Jeptson, who brought me to the land of the free. You all received me then, and all blessed me, and tried to enlighten me and make me happy. For a poor orphan Greek boy, you felt went over to them and preached to them the gospel. Now, the men of Macedonia have sent me to entreat you in the name of everything that is dear and holy, to assist them in the defence of the pure doctrines which St. Paul preached. The same Macedonians are calling on you to come over and help them. We have called upon the Christians of Europe, but they heard us not; they have united with the oppressors of our race; English and French officers dressed in Turkish

uniforms, lead the armies of the Turks against us; English and French men-of-war carry provisions to our enemies and accompany their fleet against us; English and French men of war visit our ports, threatening us that they will hang us from the mast if we fight against the Turks. They have destroyed seventeen villages in Paromythia, and slain all the children, the old, and the feeble. An English agent, under the name of American, or Christian, philantropist, went about in the midst of our people, expressing his compassion for them, and for the success of liberty. He noted the names of all that sympathisingly opened their feelings to him, and gave a list to the Pacha, who punished this people. Americans, our wrongs are great – more than flesh and blood can bear. We asked for aid from the free Greeks; contributions were made, assistance was sent, but before it could reach our brothers in the field, the Christians of France captured the vessel; and Oh, heaven, the offerings of the poor for the distressed were thrown overboard. Yes, Americans, it is true, they did so; and when the news reached the ears of the people they wept, but the English and the French and the Turkish consuls laughed them to scorn. Americans, again it is more than we can bear. Do not believe what they write in the English and French newspapers about Russian gold and Russian intrigues. Whenever the Greeks do not become blind organs to the wishes of England and France, they accuse them of being paid by the Russians. The Greeks are good only when they do what the interests of England and France demand. But if the Greeks act for the interests of their own country, they are paid by Russia; they are the tools of Russia; Russian gold and Russian intrigue are said to have been the cause of all that does not please the Western Powers.

Americans, we ordered 8,000 muskets from Antwerp to be sent to us. We paid for them, but the English captured and carried them to Malta.

I am a free citizen of the United States. When a little boy I

was brought here. I was educated in Mount Pleasant Classical Institution at Amhurst, Mass. I graduated in Columbia College. I can never be a friend to despotism. I am no Russian; but unfortunately so it is, Russia has shown more Christian feeling than England and France in this affair. The Greeks and all my countrymen are not Russian, but they ought to sympathise with any one that will sympathise with them. The Western Powers are forcing them to become attached to the Russian. But they wish to be free, and one kind mile from America will be enough. Americans, if annexation be too much for this brave people to expect, whatever you do will be thankfully received. You Americans have opened schools in Greece – you breathed in our hearts the spirit of liberty – you have planted the tree of liberty: now support it.

The English and French papers have been misrepresenting us. We wrote and forwarded refutations, but they refused publishing them in their papers.

If the object of the English and French is to curb the power of Russia, and keep the integrity of Turkey, why do they not do what the Christians have proposed? There are 12,000,000 of Christians, and 3,000,000 of Turks. The Greeks are willing to have the Turks live with them as fellow-citizens. They ask for equality and laws, and religious toleration – to separate Church from State – and to be governed constitutionally. Then there will be no cause for Russia to interfere; and in case she does, there will be a population of 15,000,000 to defend their country; and then in case of their being too weak to defend themselves against Russia, it will easier for the Western Powers to assit a nation of 15,000,000 in perfect agreement with themselves, than now, being no more than 3,000,000 of Turks in the midst of 12,000,000 of hostile Christians.

Americans! read the epistles of Anglicanus, written by an Englishman. But rather than believe what English and French newspapers say, send a committee of American citizens into

Greece, and we will abide by their decision. Americans! I have been trying-to-do what you have taught me – my duty. I have done, and am trying to do all I can do. I have sacrificed all. I am now pleading the cause of the oppressed. If I succeed, we shall all rejoice; if not I [.....] done all I could do. We may plant and water, but God must give the increase. To that great Being I surrender the cause of my injured country, and may He [.....] our hearts and understandings to do what is right. Americans, my last word is, remember that the 13,000,000 of people whom I represent, and whose cause I am pleading, are of flesh and blood like you, and that they are in the greatest need.

I am, sincerely yours, gratefully,

C. EVANGELIDI.

P.S. I intend publishing a pamphlet – the "Catechism of the Greek Church" – that you may know whether the Greeks are idolaters and worse than Turks, as they have been represented by some.

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The Evening Post, New York, June 27, 1854, page 2, column 1:

The Agent of the Greek Government In the United States – Price of American Passports in the Morea.

Our city readers must have had their attention arrested within the last day or two by the appearance of immense handbills posted upon the walls and fences about town, appealing, with all the eloquence of mammoth type, to our citizens for money and sympathy in behalf of the Greeks.

The following extract from the Greek correspondence of the London Times of June 7th gives some information about the individual who is acting as the agent of the Greek government in this country, and receiving the money of our sympathising countrymen, by which they may profit. The prices at which American passports in Greece are quoted is highly flattering to our national amour propre. There is a prospect of our having a fine crop of Koszia's in the Morea before the war is over.

"In order to prove to what an incredible extent administrative fraud and disorder has proceeded, a single instance may be selected from the affairs of M. Paikos's department. As the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is more under the eye of strangers than other departments, public decency has been more respected. The following facts, however, will show to what an extent fraud and peculation has been carried even in that department:

"A Greek, not an American citizen, and not acting on a direct nomination from the government of the United States, was recognized as consular agent at Syria. (sic) It is said that he was sent lately by the Greek government to the United States to collect subscriptions for carrying on the war in Turkey. Before his departure, he named a relative of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, another M. Paikos as consular agent, to act during his absence. This M. Paikos, however, assumes, with the consent of his relative, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Athens, the title of Charge d'Affaires des Etats-Unis de l'Amerique, and signs the passports of American citizens with this title. Here we have the fraudulent assumption of a diplomatic title, with the consent of the Greek government.

"It appears, also that a consular agent for the United States, without any authority from the government at Washington, or from their only legitimate agent, the Rev. Mr. King at Athens, has started up in Mycone, who has sold passports to Greeks

as American citizens to visit Constantinople, based on false certificates. The persons in possession of these passports declare that they purchased them for sums varying from 20 to 80 dollars. The facts, if not stated with perfect correctness, can be easily verified, for an official communication has been made to the Greek government on the subject by Mr. King, who indignantly called on M. Paikos then Minister of Foreign Affairs, to put a stop to the frauds committed under the sanction of the Greek government."

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The Evening Post, New York, Friday Evening, July 14, 1854, LIII. page 2, column 1. The News:

We publish to-day a communication from Mr. Evangelides. It is written under some excitement, but we give it in the shape in which we received it. Mr. Evangelides is known in this country as having received his education here, where he resided several years. In Greece he has acted as the American Vice-Consul at Syra. Such of our countrymen as have visited the place, have brought away very favorable impressions of his character and his usefulness among his countrymen. In that now populous and flourishing city, which, twenty years since, was a little village of fishermen, he has a school of Greek youths, several of whom receive gratuitous education from his generosity.

Letter to the Editor of The Evening Post, page 1, column 2:
GREECE.

In your paper of June 27th, 1854, you have made some remarks about me; at the same time you brought an extract from the *London Times* about me also-Your remarks are under the following head: "The Agent of the Greek Government

in the United States – Price of American Passports in the Morea."

Your remarks begin as follows: "Our city readers must have had their attention arrested within the last day or two by *the appearance of immense hand-bills posted upon the walls* and fences about town, appealing with all the eloquence of *mammoth type to our citizens for money and sympathy in* behalf of the Greeks."

Allow me, I pray you, to make my remarks first upon this part of your article, and then I will proceed with the rest, taking one part after the other, that we may be able to find out the truth, which ought to be the aim of every good citizen, and above all, of Christians, whose duty it is to point out, as clearly as possible, the way to truth.

I read the immense handbills you speak of; I think I know all about them.

Was there any thing wrong in posting those handbills?

Was there any thing improper in an oppressed people of 13,000,000 to call on the free people of America for sympathy?

Thirteen millions of people are [w]eighing under cruel oppression; so cruel that it is difficult to express, and they turn, in prayer, their beseeching eyes to you. What, are they wrong in doing so? What, are they to be despised and ridiculed for so doing in their distress? They are Christians, sir, they are a noble people, they are an injured people! Turkey tyrannizes over them with a rod of iron! and Christian England and France assist Turkey against the Christians with money, arms, counsels, officers, and fleets.

If the Greeks, then, do not ask for sympathy from America, where light and civilization and liberty have found a home, and where nature and nature's God always seem to smile – the land where Washington, Franklin, Webster, Clay, Jackson, Ingraham and so many other immortal men had their birth, who are the glory of human nature, the defenders of the

rights of people, benefactors of mankind, and examples to those who aspire to be great – from where are they to ask for sympathy?

Are they to look for it in England? They did, but were sadly disappointed! for in England there is now no George Canning! no Lord Byron! There is no Hastings! no Hamilton! There is none there that sympathizes with Greece. There is no help from England; there is no hope from that people; for the English government, through the press, has led astray the good people of England. The English people are misled by those who should have pointed out to them the path of duty and glory. They have been taught to fight against Christ and his gospel; against their brothers in Christ; against those whom they should have protected. They, together with the Mussulmans, are trying to exterminate there Christians, believing that they are doing God['s] service, as Saul of Tarsus did of old against the apostles of our Redeemer!

Are, then, the Greeks to ask for sympathy from Russia?

Alas, we found out our mistake, now too late, we have grieved that noble Emperor, for in return to all his kind and benevelent services to the Greeks, he received in general sharp criticisms! We were taught by those who profess to be the friends of mankind, the free and enlightened powers of the west, that Russia is intriguing, and faithless, and cruel, and that she sends to Siberia, and many other horrid things against that highminded, honest and honorable Christian Emperor Nicholas. May the King of kings give him what he deserves, and to the Christians of the west what they deserve. Nicholas is the father of his country, and if he was the President as he is the Emperor of Russia, he would have been the Washington of Russia, the second boast of mankind.

We were taught to look for sympathy from the west, from England, where freedom is, and Christianity, and bowels of compassion. But, oh heavens, we have been deceived! We

have been taught a lie. So it is, Americans, so it is, brothers in Christ; and now we are in despair. We are lost! and in our agony none to pity, none to sympathize – we are insulted and reproached

We appealed then to America – not for money, as you seem to mistake, but for sympathy – not that the Greeks had no need, for money also to get bread to eat, clothes to put on, and arms to fight with, but we had not asked for it yet; and as soon as I can see that there is any hope of being able to carry safely what is wanted in Greece, why I shall do all I can to procure it from America. As Christians, it is your duty to assist the needy Greeks; and as republicans and Americans, it is your duty to help your intellectual mother Greece, who gave you much.

The free, the Christian democrats are nearest to God, they most resemble God, to them it is becoming, like their God, to bestow favors on man. All things else shall perish, but virtue is eternal.

The second part of your article runs thus: "The following extract from the Greek correspondence of the London Times of June 7th, gives some information about the individual who is acting as the agent of the Greek government in this country, and receiving the money of our sympathizing countrymen, by which they may profit."

The *London Times*, from which this extract is taken, is a journal that has, I think, the most extensive circulation of any paper in England, and it could have been the means of doing more good that all the fleets and armies can do; but, unfortunately for Greece and the world in general, they have a different way of thinking.

Who is the individual that carries on the Greek correspondence of the *London Times*? I think I know him; if I do, I would not like to be in his place.

As to my ever having received any money, it is not true. From the day that I left Columbia College to the present

moment, the only money I received, in the first place, was five doubloons and sixteen two dollar pieces, given to me by my benefactor, the man who educated me, Samuel Ward, Esq., in a little purse by the hand of Mrs. J. W. Francis, M.D. And at a time again when I was poor, in Greece, before I commenced working, while I was laboring under great disadvantages. * * * Then it was a minister of the Gospel, the Rev. Mr. J. Tucker. He and I were boys together. In a book that he had borrowed from me at Athens, when he was leaving Athens, he placed twenty francs in gold. As soon as he left I found out the gold piece. I was going to run after him to give it back to him, but I felt very hungry and I kept it. Ever since that time I gave – I never received – for my Heavenly Father has been kind to me. If, then, there is any man who has given money to me, and I have accepted it, I call upon him to let the world know it. And if in the future I shall receive from my countrymen any assistance, which will be after I shall have spent all my own, it will be but just and proper.

It is said that I am [an] agent of the Greek government. I cannot see what harm there is to be the agent of the government of Greece. Neither is anything to prevent me from being one. I do not see why I should be deprived of this honor, unless it be to please the distinguished- gentlemen who writes the Greek correspondence for the *London Times.*

I shall always be happy to serve Greece and her noble King and Queen; they are- pious, they are Christians, consequently cannot please those who are not, or who do not behave as Christians, for "By their fruits ye shall know them."

King Otho, live forever! Queen Amalia, live forever! A republican in the land of freedom prays for you. May you, long live and bless the land and the people whose King and Queen you are; and may the four hundred institutions which have sprung up under your fostering care flourish forever, and bless the earth with abundance of fruit.

Greece, her King, her Queen and her people have been

injured, but truth may be long in being made known, but will come out at last. I may not see my country again, but I shall never cease to pray and work for her welfare, and hope for the time when the Christian nations of the earth will do justice to Greece, her people, and her noble King and Queen.

It is said that I gave passports to Greeks at the rate of twenty and thirty dollars! It is not true.

My wife's brother, a merchant in Alexandria in Egypt, wrote to me to send him an American passport, which I denied to him – I did not give him one. I did not even give him protection, just because he was a Greek and my wife's brother. Against Austria and Russia I protected Hungarians and Italians, but against England and France I have never protected Greeks.

It is said that I am not an American citizen. I say I am. I lived ten years here. I have been educated here; when I came I was only twelve years old, and when I left I was twenty-two years old; and if all this is not enough, I shall try to conform with all that is necessary to become one.

I have voted, and have been called to serve in the militia; is not this enough? If not I will do more.

In Syra there is no other gentleman citizen of the United States residing but Mr. Paieus, in whose hands I left the consular agency. He is at least a gentleman, which is more than we are allowed to say of the informer. As to the rest part of the article of the *Times*, the Greek correspondence is nothing more than a gross mass of ignorance, as is generally the case with what is written by these "devil-snuff-boxes" – black dust, all smoke, and nothing more. We can dispense with the "information" of such a scribler with respect "of the individual sent as an agent by the Greek government." For seventeen years I lived and taught in Greece, as I was taught in America.

E. -EVANGELIDES.

WASHINGTON CITY, D.C. July 4, 1854.

Notes

[1] I want to thank the Helen Papanikolas Charitable Trust for awarding me a grant in support of this research. This paper is based on my study of manuscript material in the collections of the New York Historical Society and Harvard's Houghton Library made possible by the grant. The grant also enabled me to have the New York Historical Society microfilm much of the Evangeles material in its manuscripts collection in 1992 so that it cay be used by other scholars.

[2] Stephen A. Larrabee, *Hellas Observed: The American Experience of Greece 1775-1865* (NY: New York University Press, 1957), 267; George A. Kourvetaris, "Greek-American Professionals: 1820s-1970s," *Balkan Studies* XVIII, 2 (1977): 290-91, 323. The Evangeles diaries remain unpublished. The diaries in the collection of the New York Historical Society consists of four volumes kept in notebooks measuring seven and three-quarter inches in length and six and one-half inches in breadth. They are bound paper notebooks manufactured in Middletown, Connecticut. The NYHS catalogue indicates that the total number of pages of these diaries is 750. The first entry is for January 3, 1834 and the last is dated January 1, 1840. Folio 1, in a hand different from that of Evangeles, contains the dedication: "Christopher L. M. Evangeles presented to him by his sister Mary, January 3rd 1834." Evangeles added an undated biographical postscript at the end of this last volume. I have retained the author's original spelling and punctuation and grammatical choices.

[3] I have also utilized MS. Gr 145* that is part of the Harvard Libraries collection. It consists of a single notebook that contains his diary written mostly in Greek and accounts kept between January 1856 and October 1860 mostly in Syros, Greece; and various issues of the *New York Times, New York Herald,* and the *New York Morning Express* from the 1850s.

[4] NYHS mss. Notebook Volume I, Folio 1 (title page), below the dedication; this is writing in Evangeles' hand. In the back of the notebook there is what amounts to a second title page which contains the following: "Prise $2,00 from Pearl Street. No Being is allowed to look or read in this it is private. Christopher L. J. Evangeles [des] June 30th 1834 University of the City of New York, New York City No. 36 Church St. in the garret of Mr. W. Stone's House, The Nearer to heaven the better."

[5] The undated postscript at the end of NYHS notebook Volume IV contains the following: "The name Evangeles was baptized with was Christodoulos or Christos- and by his friends in America when familiarly speaking was called Christy or Christie. Lysimachus was given to him by one of his teachers in America, which he changed to Leonidas because he preferred the character of the latter. "M" was added to him by his dearest friend, the Chancellor of the University of N.Y.C., which he filled up in to Miltiades. He was found of the selection of his names. The four together make a complete verse. Christodoulus Leonidas Miltiades Evangeles"

[6] Michael Contopoulos, *The Greek Community of New York City: Early Years to 1910* (NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1992), 31-32, 162, 200. Also see Byron Raizis and Alexander Papas, *Greek Revolution and the American Muse: A Collection of Philhellenic Poetry* (Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies, 1972), 60-61. Evangeles took great pride in being known as "The Greek Boy," and often appended it to his name as a kind of title. He also gave out engravings of himself in national costume entitled "The Greek Boy." See NYHS mss. Diary Vol. II entry for January 28, 1836.

[7] Contopoulos, *Community*, 32, citing sections of the NYHS diary mss. of June 2, 3, 5, 7, and 11, 1835.

[8] After this paper was delivered at the MGSA conference at Harvard (Nov. 3, 1995), I became aware of an article concerning Evangeles published by John G. Gregoriadis, "The Greek Boy," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* X/XI, 1994/95 (University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 603-607 and reprinted in two parts in the *Greek American Review* (June 1996), 5-12 and (July/August 1996) 47-54. Although this essay contains a great deal of interesting information, I have not cited it in any detail because Gregoriadis does not provide specific references for much of the information he provides. Additionally, Gregoriadis (page 603) states that the diary he used begins, "I will commence to write my own life for it is curious, as they tell me." The NYHS diaries do not begin with this statement.

[9] Myrtle A. Cline, *The American Attitude Toward the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828* (Atlanta, 1930); Paul C. Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War For Independence, 1821-1828* (NY; East European Monographs, No. CLXXIII, Columbia University Press, 1985); and Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou (ed.) *Founded on Freedom and Virtue: Documents Illustrating the Impact in the United Sates of the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1829* (NY; Aristide D. Caratzas, 2002). Concerning American missionary activity during this period, see Theodore Saloutos, "American Missionaries in Greece, 1820-1869," *Church History* XXIV (1955), 152-174.

[10] The NYHS diaries to not relate the circumstances of how and where he first came into contact with the Americans who rescued him. Syros is identified as the place of rescue by Giannes Arg. Tozes, "*Ena thyma tou*

agonos tou 1821 to opoion estimese to Makedonikon onoma eise Europen kai Ameriken," (A victim of the struggle of 1821 who brought honor to the Macedonia name in Europe and America) *Makedonikon Emerologion* (1934) 162-64. A letter by William Cullen Bryant to Moses Grinnell in 1869 states that he "was rescued at Smyrna from Turkish masters..."

[11] Biographical details are scattered throughout the NYHS diaries and repeated in parts of the Harvard notebook. The fullest account of his early life appears in the entry for August 17, 1834 in volume 2: "Christopher (L.M.) Evangels [des] – the son of Evangeles was born at Thessalonica. My Father was one of those who lived on the Mts. of Parnassus or as others name them the Mts. of Agrafa. He was born in the town of Agrafa. Reader whosever thou mayest be know this, I don't promise to you neither are you to expect it that I am going to trouble myself here with stile and sounding words. The only thing I will promise to you is *To Be Faithful and nothing but the truth* as far as it is in my power. I have told you already the place my birth (But by the by) know this also, I do not intend that this should be a regular history but I will relate facts as they come to memory. Yes I will take all the care to arrange them chronologically. The day, week, month or year of my bearth I do not recollect neither can I let you know of the hour for not being the fashion in my country to keep ones age. I know nothing about mine. But I can tell you this that I am not far from twenty 20. For I think am not certain, when my brave countrimen took up arms against our oppressors in 1821 I was six years of age. So that 1821-6=1815 and 1834-1815=19. So I am very near 20. When my father died, I was 4 four years old only."

[12] The catalog of the Columbiana collection at Columbia University; the library possesses a book edited by CLM Evanagees which appears to be one of Byron's works, *The Giaou*, originally published in London in 1813. This edition, titled *O Giaoures,* was published in Ermoupolei in 1842. The catalog states that the book's dedication reads: "To my Deliverer and Benefactor Russell E. Glover Esq., by his grateful and affectioned son C.L.M. Evangelides Graduate of Columbia College." Glover was a sea captain who worked for the firm of Samuel Ward. According to Julia Ward's daughters, he proposed to Julia in 1827, see Deborah Pickman Clifford, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Biography of Julia Ward Howe* (Boston: Little, Brown, Company, 1979), 36.

[13] In an entry in Vol. I of March 21, 1834, he writes, "Blessed be God my father for to-day is the sixth year since I came to this happy country." In an article published in *The Evening Post* of New York on July 14, 1854, he states that he was twelve-years-old when he came to America. See appendix for full text. In a letter written to Mr. W.S. Sloan Esq. on March

28, 1891, his son, A C. Evangelides states, "...my father C. Evangelides who was brought up in this county as "The Greek Boy" was rescued from the Turks in 1828 and brought to this country in the same year. He was first sent to Mount Pleasant Classical Institute at Amherst Mass..." Unpublished ms. in the Columbiana collection in the Evangeles file at Columbia University. The catalog description of the Harvard ms of the Evangeles diary records that it contains references to Prof. Sophocles and that the author was a student at Mount Pleasant Classical Institution enrolled as Christo Vangale of Salonica, 1829-1833.

[14] An undated section at the end of Volume IV of the diaries records that: "The second time I arrived to New York was October 28, 1832. Entered the University in about ten days after." For the origins of New York University see Kenneth T. Jackson (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of New York City* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995), 848-49.

[15] Concerning the Evangeles Society the following diary entries are indicative of its role and effect on Evangeles' life in America. From March 14-15, 1835: "I went today...to ask Mr. John Slosson, the President of the Evangeles Society, I say to ask of him permission that I may study French and he said that 'you must not expect to have the same as others who are rich!' April 4, 1835: "Now the Dr. Mathews speaks plainly – now I understand what he says – now he shows me plainly that he does not like my complying with the offers of Mr. Ward and leaving the University to go to Columbia College. Ah, but dear Dr. Mathews and ye members of the Evangeles Society and of the South Dutch Church do ye not know?...He that seweth reapeath." June 17, 1835: "...my enemies are truly many for leaving the Dutch Church. They are continually sending to me bills which they had undertaken to pay..."

[16] Folio 8, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. I.

[17] In addition to footnote 11 in which he directly addresses the reader, his entry for January 18, 1836 states: "I read my composition today to the pres. And because it was funny he gave me a lecture...oh, my grandfather. But here my sons I will copy it – word for word and judge ye it."

[18] Entry for January 1834 in Vol. I, Folio 6: "Fellow members, let us endeavour to be in spirit what we are in name, Philomathians. For the present you have a Greek president and a Greek name. And may I not be permitted to hope that some scion of this beautiful tree which I have aided in nourishing may find its place on the Paranassus or on the tops of the Aeropagus of my native land, and there whilest drawing life from its own mother earth feeling forever a sympathy with the parent tree and growing more strong and producing richer fruits because mingling the influence of Evangeles with those of Greece." Evangeles also spoke at

a November 24, 2834 meeting held on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Philomathean Society, see NYHS ms. Diaries Vol. I. See appendix, supra, for excerpts.

[19] 31 May 1935, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. I.

[20] 28 January 1836, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. II.

[21] Entry for March 4, 1834, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. I: "This afternoon we received Mr. D. Dutton's books in to the library of the S. D. Church of which I am the librarian." March 12, 1834: "I may incert here something that has occurred from my having a hole on my coat, ...of the whole class of the student its past as if though I had no hole with the exception of Mr. M. Weed...he mockt me."

[22] Concerning the Ward family, see Louise Hall Tharp, *Three Saints, and a Sinner* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1956). This book should be used cautiously as the author does not always provide detailed references. In addition to sources for Julia Ward Howe already cited, see Mary H. Grant, *Private Woman, Pubic Person: An Account of the Life of Julia Ward Howe From 1819-1868* (NY: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1994). For Samuel Gridely Howe, see Harold Schwartz, *Samuel Gridely Howe, Social Reformer, 1801-1876* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956).

[23] See footnote 15.

[24] Entries of June 19, 23, and 25, 1835, NYHS mss. Diaries Vol. I. See appendix for full text.

[25] Entries of September 25 and October 4, 1836, NYHS, mss. Diaries Vol. III. A description of the graduation was published in *New York American,* October 5, 1836.

[26] Contopoulos, *Greek Community*, 32; New York Historical Society Itzer Collection ms. August 21, 1850 letter to C Evangelides from Daniel F. Allen,; "Delivered wine to Dr. and Mrs. Howe...Mrs. Howe inquired anxiously for you...considering your offer to teach at your school in Syra;" and December 1850 ms. letter from Allen to Evangelides concerning offer by Evangelides to employ Allen as a teacher in his school in Syra. Georgiadis, "Greek Boy," 627 cites an article by Andreas Drakakis in *Kykladika Themata* 22/23 (1987), 192-218 and 246-48 concerning his school in Greece. I have not been able to locate a copy of this article.

[27] Larrabee, *Hellas Observed,* 267. Julia Ward Howe, *From the Oak to the Olive: A Plain Record of a Pleasant Journey* (Boston: 1868), 164-68 describes her trip to Syra in the 1860s where she visited her old friend Evangeles. He had adopted the Greek version of his name, Evangelides, when he returned to his native land.

[28] Contopoulos, *Greek Community*, 68. Harvard University ms. Gr. 14F, Evangelides notebook. He writes that a daughter named Elene was born on May 11, 1856 and his diary entry for September 14, 1859 records that his family consisted of Alexander, Calliope, and Catherine.

[29] Contopoulos, *Greek Community*, 33, 196, and 200; New York Historical Society Itzer Collect ms April 17, 1844, Syra, Greece, letter to Evangelides from Julia Ward Howe reminiscing on their acquaintance. William Cullen Bryant II and Thomas G. Voss (eds.) *The Letters of William Cullen Bryant (1849-1857)* III, (NY: Fordham University Press), 288-89, 357-58 and Vol. V (1865-1871) 83. Georgiadis, "Greek Boy," 616-17 includes a letter dated September 12, 1837 to his classmate John Jay.

[30] Evangelides' role during the Crimean war was first studied by Giannes Arg. Toze, "*Amerikanikai kai Anglikai plerophoriai peri tes epanastaseos tou 1854 en Makedonia,*" (American and British Reports Concerning the Revolution in Macedonia in 1854), *Makedonia III* (Thessaloniki, 1954) 1-65.

[31] Toze, *Amerikanikai,* 183, reproduces an official Greek government document dated March 26, 1854 that introduces him as an educator who operates a school in Syros. It does not mention any other government affiliation.

[32] Tore, *Amerikanikai,* 159, provides evident for his arrival in New York. Toze reproduces many of Evangelides' writings and letters in Greek or in Greek translation concerning his activities in America during this period.

[33] Domnas Donta, *E Ellas kai ai dynameis kata ton Krimaikon polemon* (Thessaloniki, 1973) and Jon V, Kofas, *International and Domestic Politics in Greece During the Crimean War* (NY: East European Monographs, Columbia University, 1980).

[34] Alan Dowty, *The Limits of American Isolation: The United States and the Crimean War* (NY: New York University Press, 1971).

[35] "The Greek Insurrection," *New York Daily Tribune,* March 29, 1854, 4, columns 4-5: "The insurrection among the Greek subjects of the Sultan, which caused such alarm at Paris and London, has not been suppressed, but its revival is thought not impossible..."

[36] Constantinople Correspondent, "Greek Insurrection," *New York Evening Post,* May 12, 1854. Constantinople Correspondent, *New York Evening Post,* June 9, 1854, 2, column 2: "The American consular agent at Syra, named Evangelides, holding his appointment from the consul missionary at Athens, has left that place for the United States to procure

material aid from the people or the government in behalf of the Greeks. It is to be hoped that he has not done this clothed with any official character on the part of the United States."

[37] Dowty, *Limits*, 55-109.

[38] See appendix for full text.

[39] See his letter to the Hon. G. C. Verplanck, June 19, 1854 in Contopoulos, *Greek Community,* 198-99 and the latter of W. C. Bryant dated April 11, 1855 in which Bryant mentions that Evangelides visited him, in Bryant II and Voss, *The Letters,* 357-58. Toze, *Amerikanikai,* 190-207, contains excerpts from the Harvard notebooks and other letters in Greek in which Evangelides refers to his activities in America during this period.

[40] *The Evening Post*, June 27, 1854, 2, col. 1. See appendix for full text.

[41] *The Evening Post,* July 14, 1854, 2, col. 1-2. See appendix for full text.

[42] I have found no discussion of the Macedonian revolt in the recorded debates and resolutions of the Congressional Record for the period when Evangelides was in the United States. Slavery was the great domestic issue that one finds discussed in Congress at this time.

[43] Toze, *Amerikanikai*, 189.

Books Received on Greek-American Topics

Analytical Works

Block, James F. (editor). *Sam Karres: Urban Expressionist* (Royal Oak, MI: Centaur Books, 2000), 125 pages. 169 illustrations. Analysis of the life and work of Sam Karres, who has made the people and city of Detroit (including Greektown and Greek Detroiters) his subject matter for the past half century.

Baer, William (editor). *Elia Kazan: Interviews* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000). 250 pages. Thirteen interviews done over the years. Considerable material on *America, America* and *The Arrangement.*

Castanis, Christophorus Plato. *The Greek Exile* (NY: Chian Federation, 2002). 196 pages. A reprint of the 1851 narrative written by Castanis who survived the Massacre of Chios and was raised in the US where he eventually lectured extensively on the cause of the Greek Revolution.

Demakopoulos, Steve. *Do You Speak Greek?* (NY: Seaburn Books, 2000). 192 pages. Over 30 short essays dealing with the use and misuse of the Greek language in America.

Dukakis, Olympia, *Ask Me Again Tomorrow: A Life In Progress* (NY: Harper Collins, 2003). 211 pages. An account by a second-generation Greek American woman of how she